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JOHN GROSVENOR

OF ROXBURY, MASS.

HIS FAMILY and ANCESTRY

BY

WINTHROP HAIGHT HOPKINS

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The Man and His Family

In April, 1918, The New England Historical and Genealogical Register published an article entitled "The English Home and Ancestry of John Grosvenor of Roxbury, Mass.," in which the writer, Mr. Daniel Kent, effectually dispelled some of the mists in which romanticized tradition had previously enshrouded this subject. The aim of this booklet is to shed further light upon the problem, and in that light to re-interpret some of the facts which, though familiar, have been sadly misunderstood. As a preliminary, a brief account of the man and his immediate family will be given.

Of John Grosvenor himself, little is known. He was in Roxbury as early as 1672; but how long he had been there, we are not told. By occupation, he was a tanner. He held the office of town constable. According to his gravestone, he died Sept. 27, 1691, in his 49th year. He seems to have been prosperous, for his widow, as administratrix of his estate, furnished a bond of £700.

In May, 1686, with five other Roxbury men, he purchased from Capt. James Fitch of Norwich, Conn., the Mashamoquet tract of land, comprising 15,100 acres in the northeastern corner of Connecticut. The price was thirty pounds. The deed stipulated that they should immediately take in six more partners and that two shares should be reserved for Capt. Fitch himself, making a total of fourteen shares. The disturbed conditions which attended the regime of Gov. Andros delayed the enterprise, so that no division of the tract into separate holdings was made until March, 1694. John Grosvenor being dead, his share was allotted to his widow.

Perhaps the fact that three of her children were under ten years of age at this time made it seem unwise to expose them to the hardships of a life in the wilderness. However that may be, in the fall of 1695, Mrs. Grosvenor sold her property in Roxbury and bought a farm at Muddy River, now Brookline. They sold this farm in April, 1701, and removed to their wilderness estate. By the year 1713, a considerable settlement had grown up on the Grosvenor portion of Mashamoquet, and it was deemed advisable to incorporate. The village received the name of Pomfret. In

the task of subduing the wilderness and in the subsequent life of the community, the Grosvenors bore an important and honorable part.

John Grosvenor's wife was Esther Clarke, not, as we are sometimes informed, "a Cheshire heiress," "delicately nurtured," but a daughter of Hugh and Elizabeth Clarke of Roxbury, and previously of Watertown, Mass. No record of her birth, baptism or marriage has been found; but her gravestone at Pomfret states that she died June 15, 1738, aged about 87 years. This would date her birth about 1651. As her parents lived at Watertown from 1641 to 1657, she was probably born there. In a deed dated Jan. 28, 1684, her father speaks of her marriage as having occurred, "Sometime past about twelve or thirteene Yeares agoe."

John and Esther (Clarke) Grosvenor had nine children. A brief account of them will be given below.

1. William, born Jan. 8, 1672/3, baptized Dec. 14, 1673. Graduated at Harvard, 1693. Is said to have settled first at Charlestown, Mass. From 1705 to 1708, he was minister at Brookfield, Mass. He later removed to the South. His will, dated Nov. 5, 1702, probated July 26, 1721, is in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh, N. C. His wife Sarah is named as executrix, and three daughters, Susanna, Elizabeth and Esther, are mentioned.

2. John, baptized June 6, 1675. Seems to have preceded the rest of the family to Mashamoquet. In 1707, he joined his elder brother at Brookfield, Mass., and bought land there. He married Jan. 27, 1708/9, Sarah Hayward of Concord, Mass. On July 22, 1710, while he and five other men were making hay in the meadows, they were suddenly attacked by Indians and all were slain.

3. Leicester, born about 1677, died Sept. 8, 1759, in his 83rd year. Married Jan. 16, 1711/2, Mary Hubbard. She died May 14, 1724, aged 37. He married (2) Feb. 12, 1728, Rebecca Waldo. She died May 21, 1753, in her 61st year.

4. Moses, born about 1678, died Feb. 5, 1726, aged 48 years.

5. Susanna, born Feb. 9, 1680/1, baptized Feb. 13, 1680/1. Married Mar. 26, 1703, Joseph Shaw of Stonington, Conn.

6. A child, born in 1683, died at birth. Various transcripts of the record give the month as the 4th or the 7th, and the day as the 4th or the 21st. No doubt the figures are indistinct.

7. Ebenezer, born Oct. 9, 1684, died Sept. 20, 1730, in his 46th year. Married Ann Marcy of Woodstock, intention recorded Dec. 26, 1707. She died July 30, 1743, in her 56th year.

8. Thomas, born June 30, 1687, died Feb. 6, 1729/30, in his 43rd year. Married May 22, 1718, Elizabeth Pepper. She died Dec. 23, 1770, in her 77th year.

In the record of deaths at Roxbury, we find the name of Thomas Grosvenor, son of John and Esther, under date of June 30, 1687, the day of his birth. This has commonly been accepted as evidence that the Thomas who lived to maturity was a later child of the same name. Inasmuch, however, as the baptism of Thomas is recorded July 10, 1687, it would seem that his decease, ten days earlier, must have been less fatal than has been supposed. The record of his death is undoubtedly an error.

9. Joseph, born Sept. 1, 1689, died June 20, 1738, in his 49th year.

As it is not our present purpose to follow the succeeding generations of John Grosvenor's descendants, we will now turn our attention to the problem of his ancestry.

The Grosvenors of Cheshire

In order to deal effectively with the problem of John Grosvenor's ancestry, some knowledge of the Grosvenor family of Cheshire is necessary. We will now present briefly some of the outstanding points in the history of that family.

The first appearance of the Grosvenor name is in a grant by which Hugh Kevelioc, Earl of Chester, bestows upon Robert Grosvenor, the whole town of Budworth, a moiety of the hunting in the Forest of Mara, and a moiety of the custody of his dogs. This document is not dated; but it must have been issued between the accession of Hugh to the earldom in 1153 and his death in 1181. The rights conferred by this grant were enjoyed by Robert Grosvenor's descendants for several generations; but eventually the line died out.

Before that time, however, a family of Grosvenors had become established at Hulme. The first mention of this branch is in a deed, to which the date 1234 has been assigned, by which Gralam de Lostock grants to Richard, son of Randle Grosvenor, all the land in Hulme between the hedges which Richard, son of Maurice, and David, son of Adam, held. This Richard Grosvenor was probably a younger brother of the contemporary holder of Budworth.

In the fifth generation after Richard, we come to Sir Robert Grosvenor, the most notable figure in early Grosvenor history. So far as authentic records are concerned, he was the first of this name to receive the honor of knighthood. But his greatest importance is due to the celebrated controversy in which he became involved. In the summer of 1385, Sir Richard Le Scrope challenged his right to bear the arms which he had inherited from his ancestors. These arms, Azure a bend or, were the same as the Le Scrope arms. The trial lasted nearly four years. At its conclusion, the court awarded the arms to Le Scrope, but ruled that Grosvenor might bear the same arms differenced by a plain bordure argent. Sir Robert immediately appealed to the King. The trial of the appeal lasted another year. The King sustained the court in awarding the arms to Le Scrope, but forbade Grosvenor to use the arms even with a difference. Thereupon, Sir

Robert adopted new arms, Azure a garb or, which have been borne by his descendants ever since.

The trial was held before the Duke of Gloucester, who was at that time Constable of England. In the list of witnesses are names which read like the *dramatis personae* of a Shakespearean play. Of these, the most eminent was John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon and Duke of Lancaster. He did not attend in person; but a committee of nobles, appointed by the court, waited upon him at his castle and obtained his deposition. His son, the Count of Derby, who was afterwards King Henry IV, was a witness. Others who testified were the King's brother, Sir John Holand; the Duke of York; the Earl of Arundel; the Earl of Northumberland; his son, Sir Henry Percy, "Harry Hotspur"; and Owen Glendower. And among these great and noble personages was a squire at arms, whose name perhaps did not create much of a stir in the court room, but is well known to us of a later day, Geoffrey Chaucer.

Sir Robert Grosvenor was sheriff of Cheshire, an office which had been held by several of his ancestors and was later held by some of his descendants. In addition to Hulme, his ancestors had acquired other properties, Allostock, Nether Peover, Rudheath. To these, Sir Robert added the large Pulford estate by marrying Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Pulford. Their only son, Sir Thomas Grosvenor, increased his holdings by marrying Katherine, daughter and heiress of Sir William Phesant. Robert, eldest son of Sir Thomas, had no sons. At his death, the estates were inherited by his six daughters and passed into the families of their husbands.

The second son of Sir Thomas Grosvenor, variously called Raufe, Rawlings, and Randal, married the heiress of John de Eton, and by so doing, acquired the Eaton estates, which have remained in the hands of his successors to this day.

The next noteworthy member of the family was Sir Richard Grosvenor, who in 1622, was created baronet by King James I. He was the first Grosvenor to receive a title of nobility.

Sir Thomas Grosvenor, third baronet, married in 1676, Mary Davies, only child of Alexander Davies of Ebury. From her father, she inherited a large farm, situated on the outskirts of London. That farm is now occupied by the fashionable resi-

dential section of the West End, and forms the basis of the vast wealth of its present owner.

Sir Richard Grosvenor, fourth baronet, was grand cup-bearer at the coronation of King George II.

In 1761, Sir Richard Grosvenor, seventh baronet, was created Baron Grosvenor; and in 1784, Viscount Belgrave and Earl Grosvenor.

In 1831, Robert, second Earl Grosvenor, was created Marquis of Westminster.

In 1874, Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, third Marquis, was created Duke of Westminster.

It is evident, therefore, that the rise of the Grosvenor family to its present exalted position with respect to wealth, rank and alliance, has taken place mostly since John Grosvenor's time. It must be remembered, however, that legend has attributed to this family an early greatness which seems to have no relation to fact.

The Tradition

John Grosvenor of Roxbury has been universally regarded as a member of the family which formed the subject of the preceding section. Prior to the publication of Mr. Kent's article, the tradition had been current that he was a son of that Sir Richard Grosvenor who was created baronet by King James I. It seems best to present here some of the facts which bear upon that tradition, beginning several generations before Sir Richard's time.

Sir Thomas Grosvenor of Eaton, who died Apr. 24, 1549, had two sons, Thomas and Richard. Richard died unmarried.

Thomas Grosvenor, born about 1538, died Nov. 12, 1579, had two sons, Richard and Thomas. The latter died unmarried.

Richard Grosvenor, born Jan. 27, 1562, died Sept. 18, 1619, had three sons, Thomas, Richard and Thomas. The two Thomases died young.

Sir Richard Grosvenor, born Jan. 9, 1584/5, died Sept. 14, 1645. Was created baronet Feb. 23, 1621/2. He married first, Lettice, daughter of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, and sister of Robert, Earl of Leinster. She was buried Jan. 20, 1611. He married second, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Wilbraham. She was buried June 26, 1621. He married third, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Peter Warburton, and widow of Sir Thomas Stanley. She was buried Mar. 12, 1627/8.

John Grosvenor's gravestone states that he died Sept. 27, 1691, in his 49th year. This would date his birth about 1642. It is regrettable that the advocates of the traditional theory have failed to recognize the importance, nay, the necessity, of explaining how the unfortunate gap of fourteen years between the death of Sir Richard's third wife and the birth of John Grosvenor is to be bridged. In default of such an explanation, the theory can receive no respectful consideration.

Sir Richard had two sons, one of whom died in infancy. The survivor bore his father's name and succeeded to the title. So far as dates are concerned, it would seem more likely that John Grosvenor of Roxbury was a son of the second baronet, who was born in 1604, and was buried Jan. 31, 1664. In fact, the latter did have a son named John; but this John died unmarried, July 31, 1691, and was buried in the family mausoleum at Eccleston.

The second baronet had five sons, Roger, Thomas, Robert, Hugh and John, all of whom, except the eldest, died unmarried. Roger had four sons, Thomas, John, Robert and Roger. His second son, John, was sheriff of Merionethshire, was married twice, but left no children, died in 1691, and was buried at Eccleston. Moreover, he was some eighteen years younger than the immigrant to New England.

The facts presented above lead to the conclusion that, so far from being a son of the first Grosvenor baronet, John Grosvenor of Roxbury was not even a descendant of Sir Richard's great-grandfather. As we proceed with other lines of inquiry, the untenability of the traditional theory will become increasingly manifest.

The Gravenors of Shropshire

In the southeastern part of Shropshire, in the parish of Claverley, there was formerly a hamlet named Gravenor, or rather, two neighboring hamlets named High Gravenor and Low Gravenor. In Eyton's "Antiquities of Shropshire," it is said that our earliest intimation of the existence of this place is found in some documents of the thirteenth century which bear the attestations of a certain Roger de Gravenor. About the same time, or a little later, at any rate in the reign of Edward I, we find an Adam de Gravenor. A genealogy, showing the descendants of Adam de Gravenor, was compiled by Mr. Joseph Morris, and was published in the fifth number of "The Herald and Genealogist." To the fourth number of the same publication, Mr. H. Sydney Grazebrook contributed an article on one branch of this family; and in both numbers are extensive notes bearing upon the same subject. Mainly from these sources, the following information is derived.

Adam de Gravenor, living in the reign of Edward I, had, by his wife Margery, a son William.

William de Gravenor occurs in 1324, 1331 and 1333. Had a son Richard.

Richard de Gravenor is named in a recognisance in 1376. By his wife, Agnes, who died his widow in the reign of Richard II, he had a son Richard. About this time, the "de" disappears from the name.

Richard Gravenor of High Gravenor, left the property to his wife Alice, limiting its succession to his son Thomas. Alice died in 1413.

Thomas Gravenor died before his mother, leaving three sons, Henry, William and John.

Henry Gravenor of Heathton, a neighboring village, inherited the High Gravenor property at the death of his grandmother Alice in 1413. He died at Heathton in 1435. By his wife Edith, he had sons, John and Humphrey.

John Gravenor of High Gravenor died about 1496. By his wife Agnes, he had sons, Thomas of High Gravenor, Richard, William of Enfield and John.

John Gravenor of Whittemere, in the neighboring parish of

Bobbington, youngest son of the preceding, died in 1496, leaving a son William.

William Gravenor of Whittemere was living in 1507. Had sons, William and Rowland.

Rowland Gravenor died at his house in Bridgnorth in 1522, seized of lands in Heathton and Whittemere. His wife's name was Eleanor. At this point, the information obtained from the sources mentioned above begins to mesh with that contained in Mr. Kent's article.

William Gravenor, Esq., of Bridgnorth, son of Rowland, was buried at St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, Oct. 30, 1589. His wife Margaret was buried there Oct. 5, 1583.

Richard Gravenor of Bridgnorth, son of William, was living at the time of his father's death, but was dead in 1595, when his widow, Martha, is mentioned. Their children were William, Joan, Joyce and Roger.

William Gravenor, gent., was buried at St. Leonard's, Jan. 17, 1599/1600. His will, dated Dec. 28, 1599, was proved Nov. 22, 1604. His messuage in Bridgnorth was called "The Friars." He married Nov. 16, 1590, Ursula Blunt. She married (2) June 4, 1600, John Davies. William and Ursula had two children, William and Margery. The latter, baptized at St. Leonard's May 16, 1596, married Dec. 5, 1622, John Hord of Hord's Park.

William Gravenor, baptized at St. Leonard's, Dec. 18, 1593, was buried there June 21, 1652. His will, dated May 27, 1652, was proved Sept. 12, 1653. Residence, "The Friars." He married Susanna, daughter of Rev. George Paston, rector of Drayton-Bassett, County Stafford. She was buried at St. Leonard's, June 20, 1667. They had four sons and five daughters. As the order of their births is not known, they will be listed in three groups.

Daughters mentioned as married in their father's will:

1. Mary, wife of Edward Harrison of Bridgnorth.
2. Lettice, wife of Thomas Levinge of Shepey Magna, Co. Leicester. According to the inscription on a monument at Shepey Magna, mentioned by John Nichols in "The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester," she died in 1690, in her 70th year. If this is correct, her parents must have been married much earlier than has been supposed.

Daughters mentioned as unmarried in their father's will, listed three times in this order:

1. Susanna, not mentioned in the pedigree of 1663.
2. Grace, married Daniel Billingsley of Bridgnorth.
3. Jane, baptized at St. Leonard's, July 26, 1636, married Francis Bayley of Bridgnorth.

Sons, numbered in this order in the pedigree of Aug. 14, 1663:

1. Leicester, gave his age as 36 in 1663. Was buried at St. Leonard's, May 14, 1690. In "A List of the names of the indigent officers certified out of the County of Salop," appears the item:

"Gravenor, Leister, Ensigne to Capt. Thomas Holland."

He was his father's heir and executor of his will. Resided at "The Friars." Married Eleanor, daughter of Christopher and Eleanor (Walden) Eastwicke of Stoke, Co. Warwick. She was buried at St. Leonard's, Nov. 26, 1708.

2. Gerard, or Gerald, apprenticed in the Mercers' Company of Shrewsbury in 1644. Buried at St. Leonard's, June 27, 1671.

3. William, baptized at St. Leonard's, Apr. 17, 1634, buried there, Feb. 3, 1672/3.

4. John, baptized at St. Leonard's, Jan. 2, 1640/1. Is believed to have been the immigrant to New England. It is true that in 1691, he would have been in his 51st year, instead of in his 49th as stated on the gravestone in the Roxbury cemetery; but ages given on gravestones are so often incorrect that a discrepancy of two years can have but little weight.

Evidence

We will now present evidence in support of the belief that John Grosvenor of Roxbury was a son of William Gravenor of Bridgnorth.

1. It is to be noticed that although Gerald, William and Leicester are buried at St. Leonard's, the burial of John is not recorded there.

2. The father, the paternal grandfather, and a brother of John Gravenor of Bridgnorth bore the name William; his mother and a sister were named Susanna; his eldest brother was named Leicester. John of Roxbury named three of his children William, Leicester and Susanna.

3. His name was Gravenor. In the town records of Roxbury, is registered the birth of "William Graveenor," son of John, Jan. 8, 1672. The records of the Roxbury church contain the following items:

1673. 13. 2^m. Esther Gravener was excommunicated.

1673. 2^d. 9^m. Esther Gravener was reconciled to y^e church & solemnly owned y^e Covenant.

BAPTISMS

1673. Moneth 10 day 14. William, son of ——— Gravener.

1675. Month 4 day 6. John, the son of John Gravener.

1680. M 12. day 13. Susanna, daughter of John Gravner.

1687. M 5. d 10. Thomas, son of John Gravnor.

DEATHS

1683. M 4. d 21. A still borne infant of John Gravner, it dyed in the birth.

In a deed, dated Jan. 28, 1684, by which Hugh Clarke confirms a gift of two small pieces of land to his daughter and her husband, the name is spelled Gravener, Gravenor and Graven^r, a total of thirteen times.

Although these facts are familiar to all who have examined the Roxbury records, the assumption has commonly been made that Gravenor was a corruption of Grosvenor, and that the adoption of the latter name was merely a correction of the spelling.

Undoubtedly John Gravenor himself believed this to be so. I am convinced that the assumption is unwarranted. As shown above, the family which flourished in the parish of Claverley derived its name from the hamlet of Gravenor, appearing in the earliest records as "de Gravenor."

It is true that in the records of Cheshire, where the Grosvenor family originated, the form Gravenor occasionally appears as a variant of Grosvenor; but such instances are infrequent and sporadic. In Shropshire, however, this is not the case. The Claverley parish registers, down to 1727, contain the forms Gravenor and Gravenour 222 times; Grosvenor and Grosvenour each once. From that time, Grosvenor becomes more frequent, and after 1770, that form is almost invariable.

As the prestige of the Grosvenor name increased, it is natural that, from time to time, some member of the Gravenor family would conceive the idea that his name was a misspelling of Grosvenor, and would rectify the supposed mistake by adopting the more illustrious name. As a matter of fact, we find several specific instances of such a change. One of these appears in a branch of the family which lived at Bushbury in Staffordshire, and has so important a bearing upon the question which we are discussing that it will be dealt with more fully in a later section.

The instance which at this point demands our attention, is that of the Bridgnorth branch of the family. Mr. Kent has given us abstracts of the wills of William Gravenor who died in 1599/1600, and his son, William, who died in 1652. In these wills, the name appears as Gravener, Gravenor and Grauenor, a total of thirty times. In the parish registers of St. Leonard's down to 1652, the forms Gravenor, Gravener, Gravenour and Gravorer occur, in all, seventeen times. But neither in the wills nor in the registers, does the form Grosvenor appear. At the death of William Gravenor in 1652, his eldest son, Leicester, became head of the family in Bridgnorth. Now Leicester had embraced the Grosvenor delusion, as is evidenced by the fact that the next entry in regard to any member of the family, records the baptism of "Christopher son of Mr. Leicester Grosvenor and Ellenor his wife." From this time on, the name is always Grosvenor.

That Leicester was responsible for this change, is further evidenced by the following facts. In 1663, while the heralds were making a visitation of Shropshire, "Mr. Leicester Grosvenour"

of Bridgnorth applied to them for permission to use the Grosvenor arms, alleging that he was descended from "the Grosvenours of Eton in Cheshire." He presented a pedigree, which is preserved in the files of the College of Arms in London, for a copy of which we are indebted to Mr. Kent. In this pedigree, which was certified by Leicester, Aug. 14, 1663, the name is spelled Grosvenour wherever it occurs. In the margin is the following interesting notation, evidently made by one of the heralds: "Respite given to make proove of the Descent from the Grosvenours of Eton in Cheshire, and that being done to allow the Arms wth a fit difference, but nothing done therein."

The reason why nothing was "done therein" is obvious. As shown by the researches of Mr. Joseph Morris, Leicester's forebears had lived in Bridgnorth for five generations, and in the parishes of Bobbington and Claverley for more than two hundred years before that; yet this pedigree goes back only to his grandfather.

It seems that John did not share Leicester's sentiments in regard to the family name, for the Roxbury records show that many years later he still went by the name of Gravenor. Eventually, however, he succumbed to the notion, and transmitted to his descendants the name which has led to so much misapprehension as to his ancestry.

4. On John Grosvenor's gravestone, which is still standing in the old Roxbury cemetery in Boston, is carved the Grosvenor coat-of-arms, quartered with others. This coat-of-arms is sometimes adduced as proof that the man buried there belonged to the distinguished Cheshire family of that name. A careful study of it, however, proves exactly the contrary. As a preliminary to such a study, we will examine a coat-of-arms used by Gawen Grosvenor of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire, first indicating who this Gawen Grosvenor was.

Gawen Grosvenor and His Coat-of-Arms

In tracing the descent of the Gravenors of Bridgnorth from Adam de Gravenor, we came, in the fifth generation, to a Thomas Gravenor, to whom the High Gravenor estate stood limited in 1386, and who had three sons, Henry, William, and John. We there followed a line from the eldest son, Henry. We will now trace a line from the youngest son, John.

John Gravenor, youngest son of Thomas, became possessed of a freehold estate on the decease of his grandmother Alice in 1413.

Thomas Gravenor, son of John, was admitted in 1465, to certain lands lately belonging to John Gravenor.

William Gravenor, son of Thomas, lived at Broughton in the parish of Claverley, and married Margaret, daughter of Richard Scarsmith.

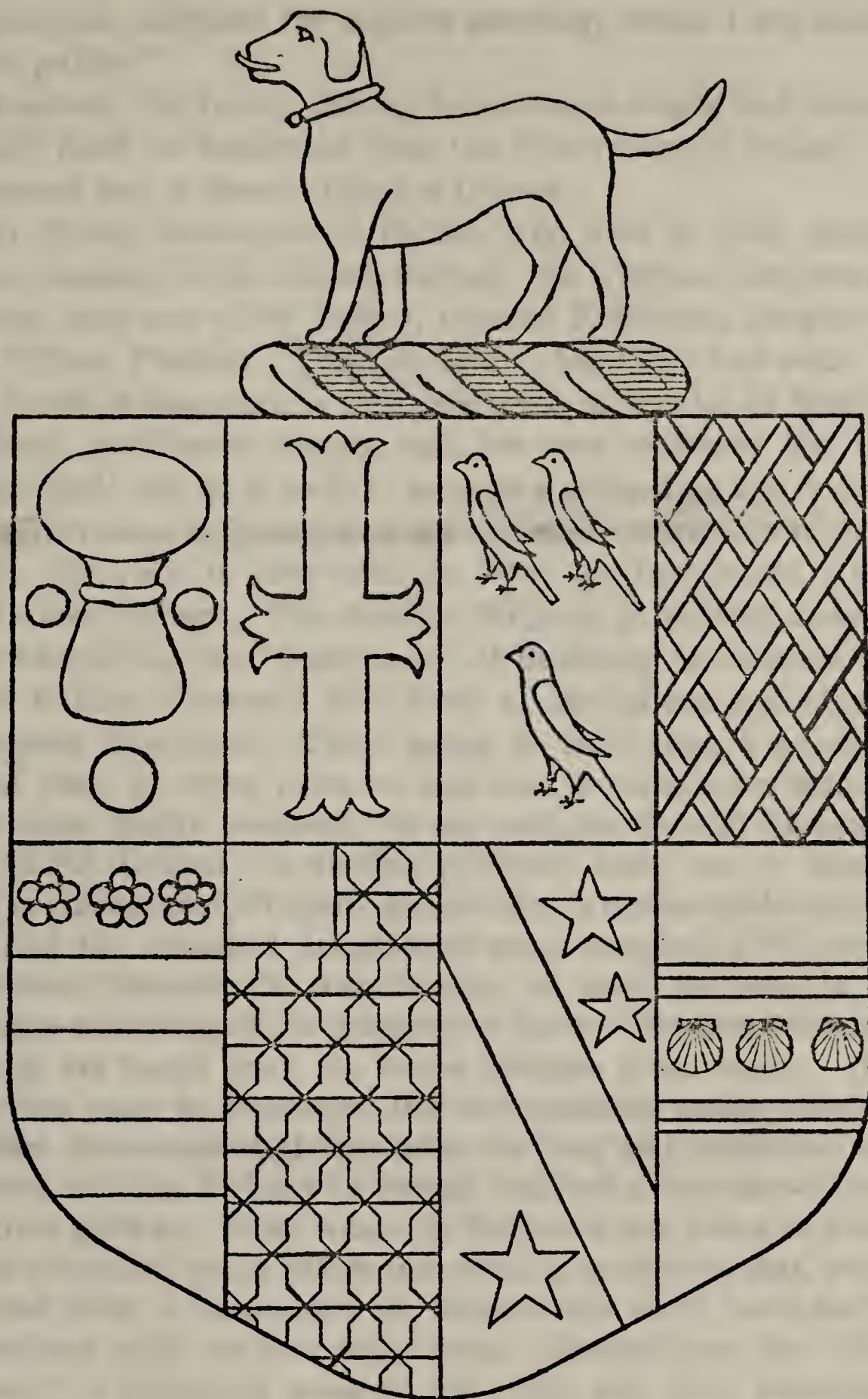
Humphrey Gravenor, second son of William, lived at Farmcote in the same parish, and married Joyce, daughter of John Wells, alias Clarke.

John Gravenor, son of Humphrey, lived at Tettenhall, Co. Stafford. Just east of Tettenhall lies the manor of Bushbury. In the reign of Henry VII, Ralph de Bushbury died s. p., and the manor passed to his brother Richard's daughter Rose. She married John Clayton of Harwood Parva in Lancashire. They had two daughters, but no sons. Their eldest daughter, Rose Clayton, inherited the manor of Bushbury, and married John Gravenor of Tettenhall. It was probably about this time that the family began to use the name of Grosvenor.

Walter "Grosvenor," son of John, died in 1590. He married Joyce, daughter of Roger Fowke.

Gawen Grosvenor, second son of Walter, was born about 1566. Lived at Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire. Was attorney in the Star Chamber. Married Dorothy, daughter of George Pudsey.

In regard to the ancestry of the Bushbury "Grosvenors," as shown above, Mr. H. Sydney Grazebrook wrote: "The question is now set at rest for ever by the researches of the late able genealogist, Mr. Joseph Morris of Shrewsbury, who from the evidences preserved in the parish chest of Claverley and other



GAWEN GROSVENOR'S COAT-OF-ARMS

authorities, compiled the copious genealogy which I am able to make public."

However, this family, having forgotten its origin, had come to regard itself as descended from the Grosvenors of Hulme, the supposed line of descent being as follows.

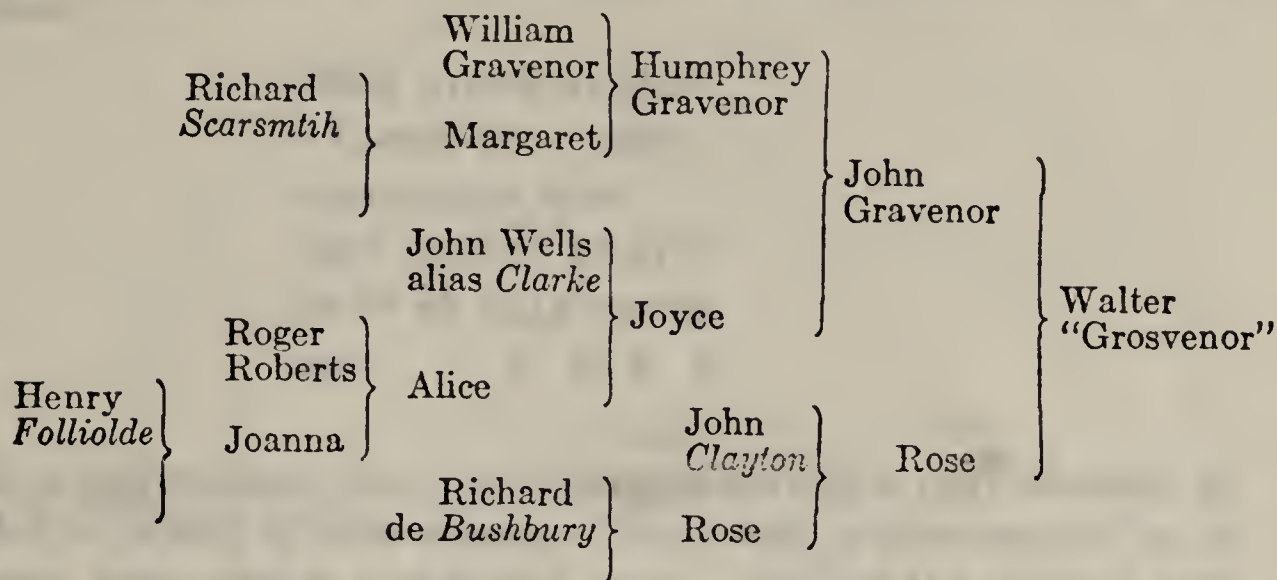
Sir Robert Grosvenor of Hulme, who died in 1396, married Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Pulford. Sir Thomas Grosvenor of Hulme, only son of Sir Robert, married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Phesant. They are said to have had four sons. Of the fourth, whose name is variously given as Randal, or Raufe or Richard, nothing is known, and his very existence has been questioned; but he is made to serve as a connecting link between the Grosvenors of Hulme and the so-called Grosvenors of Bushbury. He is said to have had a son John, and John is said to have had a son William. This dubious William, of dubious ancestry, was adopted by the "Grosvenors" of Bushbury as identical with that William Gravenor who lived at Broughton and married Margaret Scarsmith. There seems to have been a persistent belief that, at some point in this line, a connection with the Whitmore family occurred. In one pedigree, Randal Grosvenor, son of Sir Thomas; in another pedigree, John, son of Randal; and in still another, William, son of John, is represented as having married the unnamed daughter of some unspecified Whitmore.

Gawen Grosvenor's coat-of-arms, as may be seen in the accompanying sketch, is quarterly of eight. The first four quarterings are based upon the bogus pedigree given above. On a previous page we recounted the circumstances under which Sir Robert Grosvenor of Hulme, after his long and celebrated legal contest with Sir Richard Le Scrope, adopted a new coat-of-arms, Azure a garb or. Since Adam de Gravenor was living in Shropshire a hundred years before that time, it is obvious that, even if he had been a Grosvenor, his descendants could have had no hereditary right to bear those arms. Nevertheless, the "Grosvenors" of Bushbury assumed the right, and their assumption received the sanction of complaisant heralds. However, they were required to place three bezants about the garb as a difference. It is thus shown in the first quartering of Gawen Grosvenor's shield.

The second quartering is the Pulford arms, Sable a cross pa-

tonce or. The third is the Pheasant arms, Azure three pheasants or. The fourth is the Whitmore arms, Vert fretty or.

The following diagram will be helpful in explaining the remainder of this coat-of-arms.



The fifth quartering is described as, Gules two bars argent, in chief three cinquefoils of the same. This has been conjecturally interpreted as representing Scarsmith. So far as I can discover, the Scarsmith family had no coat-of-arms; and the argument in support of that interpretation is rather flimsy. It is much more likely that this quartering is meant for Clarke.

The sixth quartering is, Vaire a canton gules. This is the coat of Filioll. In spite of the difference in spelling, it is probably intended for the family whose name is given as Folliolde in the diagram above. The same family, apparently, is elsewhere called Fililode.

The seventh quartering is the Clayton arms, Argent a bend sable, between three mullets gules. The eighth is the Bushbury arms, Argent, on a fess cottised sable, three escallops of the first.

The Grosvenor crest is, A talbot or, statant on a wreath of his colors. The "Grosvenors" of Bushbury used this crest, but were required by the heralds to difference it by a collar gules. It so appears on Gawen Grosvenor's coat-of-arms.

John Grosvenor's Coat-of-Arms

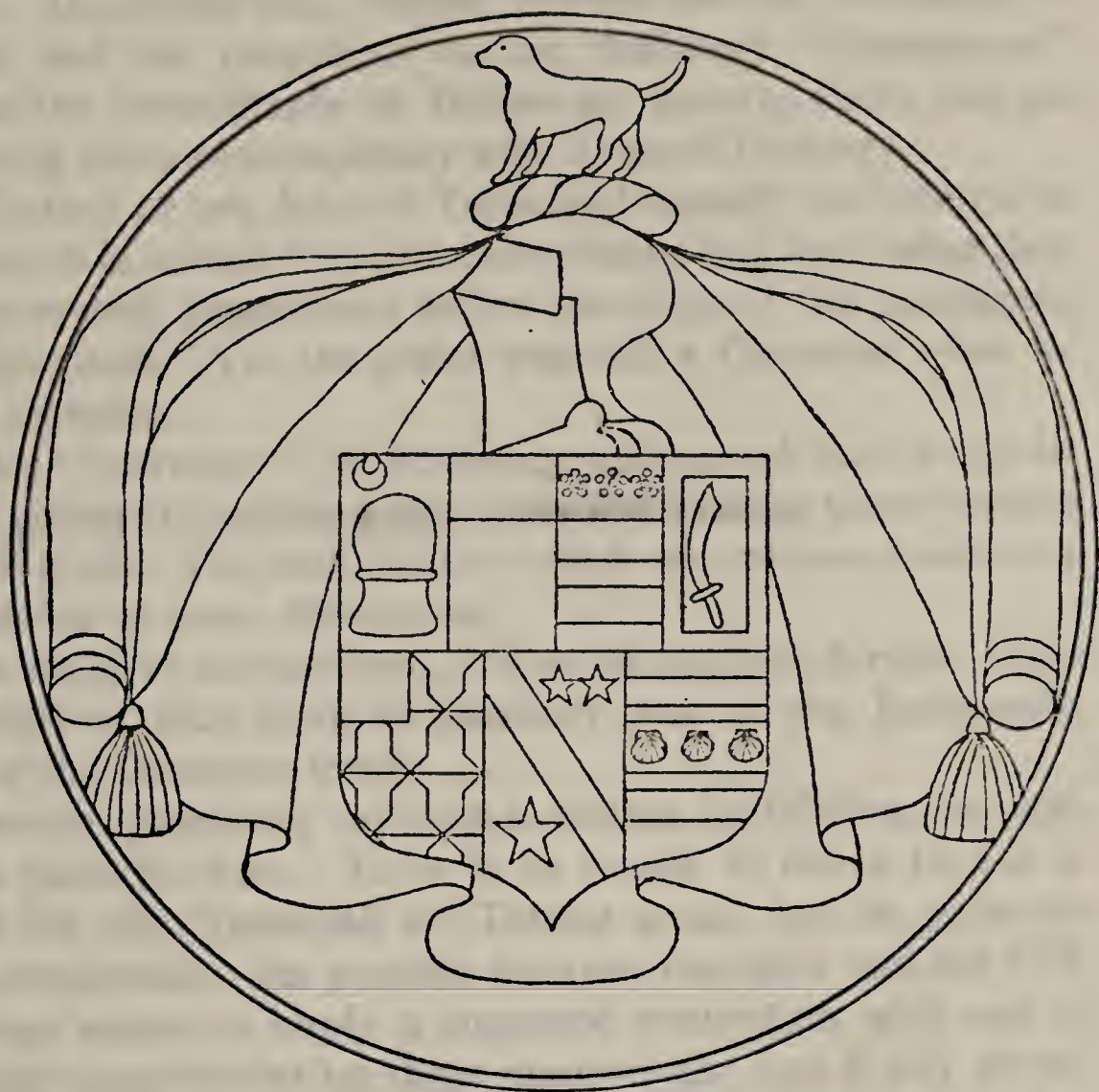
The inscription on John Grosvenor's gravestone reads as follows:

HERE LYETH BURIED
Y^e BODY OF JOHN
GROSUENOR WHO
DEC^d SEPTE^m Y^e 27th
IN Y^e 49 YEAR OF HIS
AGE 1 6 9 1

In a circle above the inscription, is carved a coat-of-arms, a sketch of which is here shown. The shield is surmounted by a helmet, upon which stands the crest. Behind the helmet and the shield, is draped a mantle. This has no specific significance, but is merely an ornamental adjunct of the helmet. The latter, shown in profile, with closed visor, proclaims the shield to be that of a gentleman or an esquire.

The shield is quarterly of seven. The third, fifth, sixth, and seventh quarterings display the same devices as the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth quarterings of Gawen Grosvenor's shield. Although the colors are lacking, the sequence of the corresponding quarterings leaves no room for doubt that they were meant to represent the same families on both coats-of-arms. The third quartering, therefore, represents either Clarke or Scarsmith, and the fifth represents Filioll (Folliolde). These families are found in the ancestry of John Gravenor of Tettenhall. The sixth quartering represents Clayton, and the seventh, Bushbury. These families appear in the ancestry of Rose Clayton, the wife of John Gravenor of Tettenhall. It follows that these four coats could rightfully be quartered only by descendants of John and Rose. This effectually disposes of the tradition that John Grosvenor of Roxbury was a member of the Grosvenor family of Cheshire; for it is hardly arguable that an authentic Grosvenor would adopt the insignia of a spurious Grosvenor family.

But was John Grosvenor of Roxbury a descendant of John Gravenor of Tettenhall? Mr. Bolton, in his "American Armory," intimates that he was, apparently accepting this coat-of-arms at.



JOHN GROSVENOR'S COAT-OF-ARMS

its face value. We have no conclusive evidence either way; but the following points may be worth considering:

1. John Gravenor of Tettenhall had five sons, four of whom died s. p. His eldest son, Walter, became lord of the manor of Bushbury and the progenitor of the Bushbury "Grosvenors." So far as the descendants of Walter are known, there was no John among them contemporary with John of Roxbury.

2. Whether or not John of Tettenhall himself used the name Grosvenor, it is certain that his descendants had been using that name for several generations before the time of the immigrant to New England. Yet the latter was still a Gravenor when he came to America.

3. The "Grosvenors" of Bushbury differenced their coats-of-arms by giving the talbot a red collar and placing three bezants about the garb. The coat-of-arms which we are now examining shows neither of these differences.

4. As we have already seen, and as we shall see further, there are indications that John of Roxbury was of the Bridgnorth branch of the Gravenor family.

The fourth quartering contains a cutlass, or falchion, in pale, within a plain bordure. There is no reason to doubt that it is intended for the Tatenhall or Tatnell arms; but its presence here is inexplicable. Its position between the third and the fifth quarterings seems to imply a supposed connection with one of the families represented by those quarterings; but if any ancestor, or any supposed ancestor, of John Grosvenor ever married a Tatenhall or a Tatnell, no evidence of such a union has come to light. It is true that the John Gravenor who, by marriage with Rose Clayton, acquired the manor of Bushbury, lived at Tettenhall; but mere residence in a village does not entitle a person to quarter the arms of a family whose name resembles that of the village.

No satisfactory explanation of the second quartering has been suggested. It seems to consist of a plain field and chief. Mr. Bolton says that it stands for Haselwall; and, in fact, the Haselwall arms are described by several authorities as, *Argent a chief azure*. The Haselwall family seems to have terminated with two heiresses, Agnes and Cicely, who married William Whitmore and his grandson, John Whitmore respectively. It would appear, therefore, that none but descendants of those Whitmores could

rightfully quarter the Haselwall arms. No evidence that John Grosvenor of Roxbury was descended from either of them has been adduced; but if he was, why did he not quarter the Whitmore arms, Vert fretty or?

We have left the first quartering for final discussion, because it presents problems which require more extensive treatment than those with which we have already dealt. In it we see the garb, or sheaf, which has been the emblem of the Grosvenors since 1390, when it was adopted by Sir Robert Grosvenor of Hulme. In the dexter chief is a crescent. If any explanation of this crescent has ever been offered, it has eluded my search. Yet the crescent was certainly placed there for a purpose, and consequently demands our consideration.

A crescent is the mark of cadency used to designate a second son. In this instance, it indicates the belief on John Grosvenor's part, that one of his ancestors, in the direct male line, was a second son. But it certainly means more than that. Marks of cadency are so commonly omitted, especially by later generations, that the insertion of the crescent here can only be interpreted as evidence of a desire to emphasize the supposed descent from a second son.

But whose second son? And why should the supposed descent from a second son be regarded as so important? While we cannot answer these questions with certainty, we can suggest an answer which has an air of plausibility. Our contention is that John Grosvenor of Roxbury was the youngest brother of Leicester Gravenor of Bridgnorth. Now it was Leicester who, after the death of his father in 1652, changed the name of his family to Grosvenor. It was Leicester who, in 1663, applied to the heralds for permission to use the Grosvenor arms and specifically claimed descent from "the Grosvenors of Eton in Cheshire." If, as is not unlikely, Leicester's ancestral pretensions led him to design a coat-of-arms for himself, despite the unfavorable attitude of the heralds, we may be confident that he would have inserted some device to represent this claim. The crescent would have served his purpose admirably; for Raufe Grosvenor, who married the heiress of John de Eton and became the progenitor of the Grosvenors of Eaton, was the second son of Sir Thomas Grosvenor of Hulme.

We may summarize the foregoing analysis by saying that the

third, fifth, sixth, and seventh quarterings can only mean that the bearer of this coat-of-arms regarded himself as a descendant of John Gravenor of Tettenhall; that the fourth is probably to be associated with this group, although we can discover no justification for its presence; that the absence of the collar from the talbot, and of the bezants from about the garb, constitutes a rejection of this descent; that the crescent is probably intended as a claim of descent from the Grosvenors of Eaton, which is inconsistent with descent from John Gravenor of Tettenhall; and that the second quartering is inexplicable.

Leicester's preposterous claim that he was descended from the Grosvenors of Eaton, although he was ignorant of his ancestry farther back than his grandfather, suggests that his mind was of a sort that would erect a pretentious edifice of claim upon a foundation composed of nothing more substantial than wishful thinking. It must have been some such mind that pieced together this coat-of-arms,—an absurd conglomeration of incongruous elements, none of which represents anything in the actual ancestry of John Grosvenor.

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The Vill of Gravenor

If the interpretations which have emerged in the course of this discussion are correct, the ancestral name of the American Grosvenors was not Grosvenor, but Gravenor. Their immigrant ancestor was a son of William Gravenor of Bridgnorth, whose ancestors had lived in the parish of Claverley as early as the thirteenth century. It does not appear that they had any connection whatsoever with the Grosvenor family of Cheshire. Their name seems to have been derived from their place of residence, being recorded for several generations as "de Gravenor."

The vill of Gravenor is mentioned in the first Perambulation in the reign of Edward I, as one of several places which were to remain within the jurisdiction of Morf Forest; but its origin, both as to date and circumstances, is hidden in "the dark backward and abysm of time." The parish register of Claverley mentions High Gravenor as late as 1796. Murray's Handbook of Shropshire, published in 1879, mentions no such hamlet, but speaks of the village of Chicknell as being situated on a high ridge known as "Gravenor common." The name of the locality, as well as that of the family, seems to have been changed to Grosvenor, for a correspondent in Claverley writes to me as follows:

"We have a High Grosvenor, which is situated about 2½ miles from the village [Claverley], but it possesses only one house—an old timbered black and white house, with a pool in front and farm buildings adjoining."

"High Grosvenor to us now means the district from Dallicott to Chyknell. It is a very lovely little strip of country just along the ridge in front of the farm house—looking down a lovely valley on to Worfield Church."

The following suggestions as to the origin of the name Gravenor are offered with great diffidence. In the northeastern corner of Shropshire, lies the manor of Gravenhunger. It is listed in the Domesday Book and antedates the Norman era. The first part of the name probably comes from "graef," meaning a grave or trench, or from "graefa," meaning sand, gravel, a hole, or a cave. The last part of the name is from "hangra," meaning grass land by a roadside or a village green.

In the southwestern part of the county, there was, in the time of Edward I, the Bosc of Gravenovere, which was said to be within the Forest of Steyfrestandes (Stiperstones). The first part of the name is probably of similar origin to that of Gravenhunger. The last part may be from "ofer," meaning a river bank. This name later became Gravenor. The maps in Eyton's "Antiquities of Shropshire" show two villages named Gravenor on the East Onny River, between Stiperstones and the Long Mynd, which, no doubt, owed their name to the adjacent bosc.

The undoubted Saxon origin of Gravenhunger, the probable Saxon origin of Gravenovere, the transformation of the latter name into Gravenor, and its adoption by the two villages on the East Onny River, seem to suggest that the name of the vill of Gravenor in the parish of Claverley may also have been of Saxon origin.

